

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00116 171638Z

44

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 023943

O 171457Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2647

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0116

NODIS

EO 11652: FLDS-1

TAGS: PFOR AO CU ZA

SUBJECT; CUBAN CONVERSATIONS WITH ZAMBIANS AND PROSPECTS FOR  
CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES IN ANGOLA

REF: STATE 10167

1. SUMMARY. IN LENGTHY CONVERSATION AT STATE HOUSE JAN 17, PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISER MARK CHONA REVIEWED PRIVATE ZAMBIAN DISCUSSIONS WITH CUBANS DURING THEIR CURRENT VISIT HERE (LUSAKA 86 AND 89). CHONA REVEALED GRZ POSITION WAS MUCH FIRMER ON CUBANS IN URGING THEM TO QUIT ANGOLA THAN LOCAL PRESS INDICATED, BUT THAT IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS ARE NOT ENCOURAGING AND BATTLE FOR WITHDRAWAL WILL BE LONG AND HARD BECAUSE OF SOVIET STRATEGY IN AFRICA (LUSAKA 115). CHONA CONVINCED ANY PRIOR WITHDRAWAL BY SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD ONLY ENCOURAGE CUBANS FILL VACUUM AND RACE FOR NAMIBIAN BORDER. AGREED AFRICAN MODERATES TOGETHER WITH WESTERN SUPPORTERS SHOULD TAKE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE. BELIEVES REAL ISSUES NOW ARE CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL, NOT WHETHER THERE INCREASE IN AFRICAN RECOGNITION OF MPLA. OBVIOUS THAT ZAMBIANS HAVE SO FAR BEEN CONCENTRATING MORE ON PATCHING UP DIFFERENCES WITH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE RATHER THAN LAYING CONCRETE PLANS FOR NEXT STEPS IN ANGOLA. HOWEVER, THEY EXPECT HAVE CLEARER NOTION OPTIONS OPEN TO THEM FOLLOWING EXPECTED RECEIPT JAN 19 OF BREZHNEV REPLY TO KAUNDA JAN 4 DEMARCHE TO SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00116 171638Z

2. CHONA CONFIRMED ZAMBIANS DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM

TAKING HOSTILE STAND WITH CUBANS,  
IN FACT EVEN SENT THEM ON A FAMILIARIZATION TOUR OF ZAMBIA,  
BECAUSE ZAMBIANS FEEL CHANCES FOR CONCILIATION AND REASONABLE  
WITHDRAWAL IN LONG RUN MAY BE BETTER. HOWEVER, CHONA SAID,  
ZAMBIANS ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT CUBAN INTENTIONS AND FEAR  
THEY HAVE ENTERED AFRICA FOR THE LONG HAUL WITH NO RPT NO  
INTENTION OF VOLUNTARILY WITHDRAWING. WHETHER SOVIETS WILL  
EVER AGREE TO THEIR WITHDRAWAL IS SOMETHING ELSE AND MAY  
DEPEND UPON BREZHNEV REPLY TO KAUNDA'S LETTER OF JAN 4.  
REPLY NOW SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR JAN 19.  
CHONA SEES BATTLE FOR WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN FORCES AS LONG AND  
HARD BECAUSE IT IS PART OF WHAT HE SEES AS GRAND STRATEGY OF  
SOVIETS FOR EXTENDING AND CONSOLIDATING THEIR STRATEGIC  
POSITION IN AFRICA.

3. CHONA SAID ZAMBIANS "ATTACKED" CUBANS WITH FIRMNESS FOR  
THEIR PRESENCE IN ANGOLA. DID IT HAVE ANY EFFECT, I ASKED.  
CHONA SAID HE THOUGHT ONE OR TWO DELEGATION MEMBERS WERE  
SWAYED BY ZAMBIAN LOGIC ALTHOUGH OSMANY CIENFUEGOS  
WHO HEARDED DELEGATION WAS TOUGH AND UNYIELDING.

4. CHONA SAID HE NOW CONVINCED AFTER TALKING WITH CUBANS  
THAT IF SOUTH AFRICANS WERE TO WITHDRAW FIRST (MY REFERENCE  
TO SECY'S SUGGESTION IN JAN 14 PRESS CONFERENCE), THIS WOULD  
ONLY CREATE A VACUUM WHICH CUBANS WOULD IMMEDIATELY TAKE  
ADVANTAGE OF RATHER THAN RESPECT. CUBANS WOULD RACE SOUTH  
TO NAMIBIAN BORDER. DO NOT FOOL YOURSELF, CHONA ADDED,  
NAMIBIA IS CUBA'S NEXT STOP AS SOON AS THEY FINISH WITH  
ANGOLA. MOREOVER, SOVIET GRAND STRATEGY PROBABLY INCLUDES  
ZIMBABWE EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER SOVIETS AND CUBANS ACHIEVE  
THEIR OBJECTIVES IN ANGOLA. CHONA SAID SOVIETS WOULD STOUTLY  
RESIST BEING SHAMED OUT OF ANGOLA. THEY WILL HOLD FAST UNLESS  
THERE ARE COMPELLING, OVERRIDING INTERESTS AFFECTING SOVIETS  
IN OTHER AREAS.

5. AS FOR NEXT STEPS AND AVAILABLE OPTIONS REGARDING SOVIET  
AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA, CHONA AGREED THAT AFRICAN MODERATES  
TOGETHER WITH WESTERN SUPPORTERS SHOULD TAKE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE  
HE MOST RECEPTIVE TO ANY IDEAS US HAS ON SUBSTANCE AND TACTICS.  
HE WAS ESPECIALLY CRITICAL OF BBC, DEUTSCHE WELLE AND FRENCH  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00116 171638Z

RADIO FOR WAY THEY WERE REPORTING "MPLA VCUTORIES" IN ANGOLA.  
THESE ARE CUBAN VICTORIES, CHONA INSISTED, AND SHOULD BE SO AD-  
VERTISED BY THOSE FAVORING MAJORITY RULE IN ANGOLA. CUBAN PRESENCE  
DOES NOT SHOW THAT MPLA IS STRONG OR POPULAR; RATHER, THAT  
IT IS WEAK. NEITHER DOES IT DISPROVE EXISTENCE  
OF FNLA AND UNITA FORCES OR THEIR SYMPATHIZERS AMONG  
ANGOLAN POPULATION.

6. CHONA SHOWED BASIC PREFERENCE FOR SECURING A CEASEFIRE BEFORE A WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FORCES, MAINLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT TRUST SOVIET AND CUBANS TO UNDERTAKE VOLUNTARY WITHDRAWAL. BELIEVES IT WOULD REQUIRE UN SUPERVISION AND ENFORCEMENT FOR WHICH THERE YET NO PLANNING OR MACHINERY. CHONA BELIEVES OAU SUMMIT SHOWED THERE LARGBJ BODY OF AGREEMENT ON CEASEFIRE AMONG AFRICAN STATES IRRESPECTIVE OF POSITIONS ON MPLAIRECOGNITION AND THIS SHOULD BE DQPLOITED (LUSAKA '04). CHONA ACKNOWLEDGED THERE ARE SOME STATES SUCH AS GHANA WHO WOULD NOT ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS PULLED OUT. THIS IS FRUSTRATING CHICKEN-AND-EGG PROBLEM BUT NEEDS TO BE TACKLED. CHONA CONCLUDED HIS DISCUSSION ON CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL PROBLEM BY NOTING THESE WERE REAL ISSUES, NOT INCREASE IN MPLA RECOGNITIONS. HE CONFIDED THERE WILL BE FEW ADDITIONAL RECOGNITIONS AND TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED.

7. IN DISCUSSING OPTIONS FACING US ALL IN IMMEDIATE POST-SUMMIT PERIOD, IT OBVIOUS ZAMBIANS HAVE CONCENTRATED THEIR ENERGIES MORSION PATCHING UP OR PAPERING OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE (LUSAKA 114) THAN THEY HAVE IN LAYING PLANS FOR NEXT STEPS ON BRINGING PEACE, YVABILITY, AND A COALITION GOVERNMENT TO ANGOLA. CHONA SAID HE WOULD BE GIVING MORE THOUGHT TO THIS IN COMING DAYS IN PREPARATION FOR MY REQUESTED MEETING WITH PRES KAUNDA. AT THAT TIME ZAMBIANS WILL HAVE CLEARER NOTION OF OPTIONS. ALSO MUCH WILL DEPEND, CHONA SAID, ON MOSCOW'S POSITION WHICH SOVIET AMB WILL DELIVER TO STATE HOUSE JAN 19 AND CERTAINLY ON SECY KISSINGER'S DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW. CHONA WAS ANXIOUS THAT SECY HAVE BENEFIT OF BREZHNEV LETTER TO KAUNDA. I EXPRESSED GRATITUDE, SAYING I WOULD AWAIT HIS CALL ON HIS MEETING WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR SO AS BE ABLE INFORM SECY PROMPTLY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00116 171638Z

WILKOWSKI

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTERVENTION, ARMISTICE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, TROOP REDUCTIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 17 JAN 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** coburnhl  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976LUSAKA00116  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840109-2143  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760147/aaaabply.tel  
**Line Count:** 155  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 76 STATE 10167  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** coburnhl  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <01 SEP 2004 by coburnhl>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CUBAN CONVERSATIONS WITH ZAMBIANS AND PROSPECTS FOR CEASEFIRE AND WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES IN ANGOLA  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PREL, AO, CU, ZA, UR, (CHONA, MARK)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006